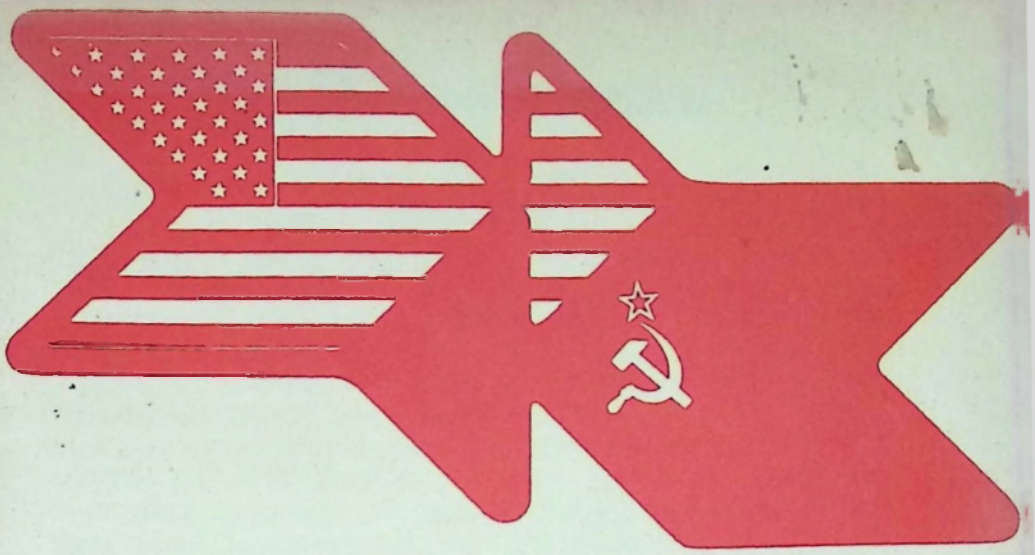

THE BIG STAKES OF DETENTE

by Gus Hall

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A. since 1959, was born in 1910 in Minnesota. At the age of 15 he went to work; at 17 he was a member of the Communist Party and an organizer for the Young Communist League. He was a leader of the Little Steel Strike in 1937 in Ohio and was one of the founders of the United Steelworkers of America. He served in the Navy in World War II and was a leader of the Communist Party in Ohio. In the 1950s he served an 8-year prison sentence under a Smith Act frameup. Gus Hall is well known as a public speaker, is an internationally recognized authority on Marxism-Leninism, and is the author of numerous articles and pamphlets and three books. His third book, *The Energy Rip-Off: Cause and Cure*, has just been published by International Publishers. Gus Hall was the Communist Party's candidate for President in 1972, together with Vice-Presidential candidate Jarvis Tyner.

This pamphlet presents Gus Hall's opening report to a meeting of the Communist Party's Central Committee, June 29-July 1, 1974. A few modifications have been made to take account of developments since the meeting.

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By

GUS HALL

COMPLEX EVENTS

The situation does indeed seem complicated. But as we know things seldom are as they seem.

Nixon and Kissinger are in Moscow negotiating on detente. "Poop" Jackson is on his way to scuttle detente and to set up the Jackson-Mao cold war, anti-Soviet axis. The presidents of most large banks, as well as of General Motors and Ford, are all for detente and trade with the Socialist countries, while the leaders of the United States Social Democrats, who say they are for socialism, and the top leaders of the AFL-CIO trade union movement, who are supposed to be for the working class, are against the U.S having relations with countries where the working class is in power and where they are building socialism. On the other hand, other trade union leaders such as Harry Bridges and the West Coast Longshoremen, as well as Fitzgerald, Matles, DeMaio and the U.E. leadership are emphasizing the need for detente to meet the problem of jobs for their members. Some Jewish liberals, Zionists and the hoodlums of the ultra-Right Jewish Defense League lead the anti-Soviet campaign, while other sections of the Zionist movement now argue for re-establishing diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Israel.

The desperate worry of the Trotskyite and Maoist sheets and what is left of the *Guardian*, which in words also profess to be for socialism, is that the Soviet Union, a Socialist country, will emerge as the strongest and most influential country in the world. They are concerned that a Socialist country will replace the United States, an imperialist country, in influencing world events.

Some Black mayors in southern cities in pursuit of federal and state funds have endorsed Governor Wallace, while the Black liberation movement, in general, correctly sees Wallace for what he is—a racist, ultra-Right bigot.

United States corporations are signing huge trade agreements with the Soviet Union, while some liberals act as the Paul Reveres warning everyone that detente endangers "our way of life."

Nixon has proposed a bill to safeguard and protect the privacy of individual citizens. As someone remarked, this is as if Dracula had proposed the setting up of blood banks. Feed prices are so high the farmers cannot afford to raise cattle. The Democratic leaders are gung-ho on Watergate, but lukewarm on impeachment of a Republican President. And to add to the complexities, the fascist general in

Portugal leads a move which ends the fascist regime and becomes a spokesman for policies of democratization and the breaking up of the imperialist empire. And not to be outdone the U.S. Supreme Court decides that women should not get childbirth disability pay because men do not get it and so it would be unfair.

That is how events must seem to those who view them as if life were a newsreel. And they are confusing to many Americans.

I have narrated some of these events and their surface appearance to emphasize some basics. If there ever was a moment when we need to tighten our working class moorings it is now. If there ever was a time when the science of Marxism-Leninism stands as a brilliant beacon light piercing through the fog of capitalist class ideological corruption, through the mist of opportunism—it is now. If there ever was a time when it is necessary to get at the basic class essence of matters—it is this moment. From the viewpoint of the working class and the class struggle, the seemingly contradictory events fall into their correct and deeper perspective.

To explain matters from the viewpoint of the working class, from the vantage point of the class struggle; to apply the science of Marxism-Leninism is to steel the revolutionary movement against the ever-present enemy pressures that result in concepts of opportunistic accommodation and capitulation. We and the people's movements need the basics of Marxism-Leninism to avoid the dead-end corners of sectarianism and the meaningless rhetoric of phrasemongering. We need it in order to be a vanguard force, a force that leads from a position of mass strength that comes from a clarity of perspective. We need this revolutionary theory as a guide to a working class revolutionary practice and outlook. From the vantage point of the class struggle and the science of Marxism-Leninism the events fit together and make sense.

DETENTE

Each decisive moment in history has its point of focus, its decisive forces, its course of development. The essence of this moment, the balance of its forces, its direction, its currents and trends are all encompassed in the phrase "the struggle for detente."

The dynamics of detente express the processes, the historic shift in the balance of power at a time when the old system and its ruling class have lost their place of dominance to a new force representing a new social system and a new class that increasingly determines the course of human events. Detente expresses a qualitative change in international class relations.

The concept of detente is not status quo, passivity or neutrality. Detente is the class struggle at a moment when both classes have state power. The aim of the reactionary forces in the struggle for

detente is to extract the maximum from the objective forces in a period of transition from one social system to another. Thus, just as the direction of history is irreversible, detente can be made irreversible. And, just as the course of history has its periods of ebb and flow, so the course in the struggle for detente can have its ebb and flow.

The struggle for detente is not some fanciful generality. The struggle takes place around specific events, agreements and developments. The struggle is international, but it takes place around concrete national issues. It does not represent merely a change of heart by Nixon. It represents an important change in the class policy of monopoly capital, which is forced to recognize the realities of the present-day world.

In France, the clearing of the path towards detente was the struggle to withdraw the forces of French imperialism from Algeria. It was a struggle to withdraw France's military support from the U.S. dominated NATO and it was a struggle for the acceptance by the ruling class of France of a Europe living in peace with its Socialist neighbors.

West Germany had to give up revanchism as an official state policy. It had to accept the realities of the new borders with Poland and Czechoslovakia. It had to accept the reality of the German Democratic Republic. The final "t's" of this development were crossed with the exchange of ambassadorial level officers between the two Germanys just last week.

Now Portugal is beginning to clear the path towards policies of detente. Independent Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau will bring powerful new forces into the struggles of national liberation and detente, especially in Africa. The breakup of this oldest racist empire is a shattering blow against world imperialism. This swings the pendulum wheel of history further against imperialism.

The struggle for detente is the major factor in determining the course of world events. The struggle for detente itself is a major factor in further shifting the balance of world forces against imperialism.

The struggle for detente is a central issue on a world scale. In one way or another it influences all developments in all parts of the world. But for the United States it is more than central. It is going to determine the course of events both in foreign and domestic affairs for some time to come.

We must measure our contributions to this epic struggle against the standards used for qualitative turning points in history.

Before going further into this matter, a few words on some other world developments.

THE MID-EAST

The developments in the Mid-East are very much influenced by

the struggle for detente. The issues and the forces remain the same. But the direction of events has turned around. The forces of imperialism continue to maneuver, but they are now forced to retreat. The disengagement of the armed forces is but a first step in the right direction.

The shift in U.S. tactics in the Mid-East, which we have predicted for many years, has definitely begun to surface. This has created a serious crisis for the leaders of Israel with their policy of aggression. In a sense their isolation has made them pawns on the oil chessboard of U.S. imperialism.

The leaders of Israel have obviously not drawn the necessary conclusions and are continuing a policy that can lead to disaster for their country. They want the troop disengagement lines to become the new permanent borders. This continues the policy of aggression. On the other hand, Nixon and Kissinger believe they can maneuver so that the confrontation at the coming peace conference will never take place, or that the peace conference will take place at a moment when the Arab countries are not united. Sadat of Egypt believes he can continue to maneuver at the expense of the interests of the other Arab countries and the Palestinian people. These are illusions about the intentions of U.S. imperialism. These are all miscalculations that can lead to further disaster.

The trips made by Kissinger and Nixon to the Mid-East are basically oil missions, not missions of peace. The neo-colonial and colonial price tag on oil is the only objective of U.S. imperialism in the Mid-East. There should be no illusions. Kissinger's shuttle flights are made in the interest of the profits of the oil corporations. The ruling class leaders of the United States and Israel, with Sadat, have agreed to postpone the peace conference. This will work for a time. The buck, however, will stop at the peace conference. That is where these maneuvers will come to an end. That is where the Kissinger secret promises, interpretations and the illusions about them will see the light of day. When that happens the forces who now stand on principled grounds will be the victors.

The forces of national liberation will continue to push for the peace conference and a just conclusion. A just peace in the Mid-East is a return to pre-1967 borders, an end to hostilities between Israel and her neighbors and a home of national existence for the Palestinian people. In this endeavor the forces of national liberation have the full support of the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries and the working class and progressive forces of the world.

CHILE

While Chile remains in the column of setbacks, it too is affected by the struggle for detente. The fascist junta is running into a world-wide blockade. In many capitalist countries this is an unprecedented devel-

opment. The mass movements in defense of the victims of the junta are very broad and are growing. Internally the junta follows policies that will lead to explosions. Inflation is out of control and unemployment is rampant. Because of these developments the action of China in recognizing the junta is even more reprehensible. Whether a Socialist country should or should not establish diplomatic relations with a reactionary or fascist country is a matter of tactics. At a moment when the fascist forces are having difficulties in establishing their regime, and when there is a broad world movement against it, is not a time to establish such relations. It is therefore wrong and also opportunistic for the government of Rumania to sign a protocol establishing relations with the fascist junta of Chile. It is breaking the ranks of the world resistance movement.

The National Days of Protest on September 4th and 10th can raise the struggle against the junta, and in defense of the victims of Chilean fascism, to new levels. We must give these efforts our Party's full support. We must raise to new heights the struggle to save the lives of Comrade Luis Corvalan and other revolutionary leaders in Chile.

ACUTE INSTABILITY

While the struggle for detente is being propelled by long-range currents and trends, it is also now being buffeted by the winds of gathering storms that are affecting the whole capitalist world.

The capitalist world is suffering from an acute instability. There is both economic and political instability. This crisis of instability has reached a critical stage in a number of countries, including Italy, Great Britain, Japan and France.

The seemingly sudden, explosive and unique collapse of the Portuguese fascist empire is symbolic of the inner decay and the growing instability of the imperialist world. Its downfall is related to the shift in the balance of world forces and the power and heroism of the peoples fighting for national liberation. It is also a tribute to the enduring strength and the activities of the Communist Party of Portugal working under the most brutal conditions for over forty years. As is the case in all struggles against imperialism, here again the Soviet Union, without boasting or claiming credit, has served as the main support base in the struggle against this oldest fascist imperialist empire.

In a sense the capitalist world is in the midst of an economic twilight zone, a zone between a spiraling inflation and increasing developments that can lead to an economic depression of major proportions. New words are appearing in the bourgeois lexicon, words like "stagflation," "slumpflation" and now the latest, "competitive deflation." "Competitive deflation" is simply a growing phenomenon where each country builds economic and financial walls against the

other, walls at the expense of their own people.

They are all taking steps to "deflate" their economies through the process of curtailing demand by simply cutting down the standards of living. This is a path to economic depression. In fact, the ghost of a serious depression is now haunting the capitals of the capitalist world. Some bourgeois economists openly advocate a depression as an antidote to the runaway inflation. But they talk about a depression without considering the political consequences. They talk about depression without considering the reactions of the masses. For the first time in 40 years the capitalist world is openly admitting the possibility of a capitalist worldwide depression: "By way of contrast to the Socialist countries, the equivalent of a depression hovers nervously over other lands. A wave of inflation is bewildering the politics and production of the West and threatening to cripple its middle class." (C. L. Sulzberger, *New York Times,* July 14, 1974.)

DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

There is also a new element in the crisis in the developing sector of the non-Socialist world. Many of the developing countries are becoming victims of the contradictions and the squeeze taking place between the developed capitalist countries. They are victims of the intensified general crisis of capitalism and the continuing policies of imperialist exploitation.

There is no question that drought has added to the serious conditions of famine. But the basic cause of the crisis and the famine is neo-colonialism. Fundamentally, aggravated poverty and under-development are products of imperialism. Most of these countries are drowning in debts owed to imperialist institutions and governments. Neo-colonialism has temporarily stymied their development towards the only solution—socialism. It is one thing to pause after liberation from imperialism. It is quite another matter to extend the pause to an era of living in a twilight zone between a capitalist development and socialism. Without a struggle for socialism the countries of underdevelopment become open targets for imperialist penetration. Because the loans and grants from capitalist exploiters have political strings tied to them it leads to economic stagnation and retrogression, neo-colonialism and continuous crises.

In some countries this situation is headed for a human disaster without precedent. It is fast becoming a critical political issue. Speaking on behalf of U.S. imperialism, the *New York Times* has a proposal to resolve the crisis: "The most useful concept so far is the bargain that can be struck to provide long-term and secure access to what each nation needs." And, in a typical fashion, the *Times* editorial places the first part of the bargain: "Access to supplies which the industrial nations need is traded for what the producers of raw ma-

terials need—access to markets, access to technology and investment capital." That is exactly the "bargain," the bait, that has brought these countries into the present crisis.

The chief officer of the Continental Illinois Corporation also has a "solution"—give the multi-national corporations a free hand in these countries. That is adding disaster upon disaster. Neo-colonialism is an instrument of the multi-national corporations.

The solution of imperialism to the developing disaster in these countries is to float more loans that will tie them even closer to the imperialist chariot, to campaign for relief handouts, while the corporations continue their policies of exploitation and the extraction of super-profits. The enemy of the developing countries is neo-colonialism. The fact is that there are no solutions on the capitalist path of development. The policy of living on loans without independent economic development reaches a point where the loans cannot pay even the interest on past loans. Many of the developing countries have reached that point. Postponing the development towards socialism can only lead to new disasters.

The continuing U.S. policy of aggression in Southeast Asia is clear proof that imperialism has not changed its basic aim of aggrandizement and exploitation. Its policy is to build bases of neo-colonialism in South Vietnam, Thailand, Cambodia, Hongkong, Taiwan and Indonesia. The policy is military aggression through puppet governments, armed forces and military bases. It is a policy of neo-colonialism through economic and political domination. The extremes to which U.S. imperialism will go was brutally demonstrated in the genocidal, wasteful, costly, destructive war waged against the Vietnamese.

The policy of aggression is open and brutal in Africa. The policy is to achieve the aggression through support to racist and fascist regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia.

Spokesmen for imperialism are using the crisis for their anti-Soviet purposes. The Maoists and the *New York Times* lead the pack. There are cries for the Soviet Union to give more aid. But this drive only covers up for neo-colonialism. The fact is that the Soviet Union is the only major industrial country that consistently gives aid without political strings.

LIKE DOMINOS

The domino-like fall of capitalist governments in the last weeks is but further reflection of the crisis of their instability. Governments fall because they have no basic solutions to the problems of capitalist societies in a period of general decay. This acute moment of instability is related to the developing and deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. Leonard Silk, a member of the *New York Times*

editorial board, reflected on this moment last week:

> The hottest socio-economic story of the moment is the coming crash and the end of civilization as we have known it.
> The tragedy of the present is that the United States is in the midst of its own crisis of leadership, while both world inflation and depression loom before us. There is desperate need to deal with the interlocking problems of food, resource and energy shortages, environmental pollution, the arms race, the maldistribution of wealth, the drive of international cartels for wealth and power, a highly unstable monetary system and the threatened breakdown in the world economy. But in the face of such problems, national leadership in all the principal countries is weak and divided, and international institutions seem powerless. (*New York Times,* June 18, 1974.)

Now that is a highly sophisticated assessment of the overall nature of the general crisis of capitalism. So while the struggle for detente is propelled by the longer-range objective processes, it is given great urgency and momentum because of the crisis of instability that has hit the capitalist world. The crises in respective countries are not on the same level but their source is the same.

THE STRUGGLE FOR DETENTE AND U.S. IMPERIALISM

In many ways the question of detente is the most basic and central issue facing the people of the United States. In our country the struggle for detente takes place in the context of most crucial issues facing our people as a result of the policies pursued by U.S. imperialism.

In the United States the question of detente has emerged in the very center of a basic crossroads struggle.

The struggle is over the fundamental question of whether the U.S. should continue along the cold war path of frontal aggression, whether the U.S. should continue to gear the economy to a war orientation, whether the U.S. should continue on the path of trying to blockade the Socialist countries, and in a very fundamental sense, whether the U.S. should continue along the path of nuclear brinkmanship. This is a crossroads moment for U.S. imperialism as well as for our people.

In the camp of monopoly capital the issue of detente raises the questions of what serves the self-interests, the profit interests, of capitalism better—the cold war or detente; a rejection of the new world reality or an accommodation with it.

We, on the other hand, argue for detente on the basis of the

self-interests of the working class and the people. That these self-interests, for the moment, coincide and come together in the struggle for detente does not in any way minimize the importance of the issue. But it does add to the possibilities of winning the struggle.

There is a broad mass sentiment for detente. Powerful sections of monopoly capital are for detente and all of the opinion polls show that the people are overwhelmingly for policies related to detente. But the issue has not been decided because there are also powerful forces who are fighting against the withdrawal from the cold war barricades. And detente is too important a matter to be left to the wavering forces of monopoly capital or the Nixon Administration. In their hands the struggle for detente is jeopardized because of the crossfire resulting from the contradictions within monopoly capital.

Like most forces in the country the Nixon Administration is split over the matter. At this point the Nixon Administration still tries to ride two horses going in opposite directions.

Nixon and Kissinger make speeches for detente, they sign detente trade agreements, but they also propose and fight for a cold war military budget. The Nixon Administration negotiates for mutual reduction of nuclear arms, but at the same time it has made the most dangerous shift from a policy of a two-sided nuclear deterrent to a policy and the restructuring of the nuclear complex to a strike first basis. The new nuclear structure is specifically built for a strike first option. It has meaning *only* in a first strike situation. This shift has raised in a new way the danger of nuclear war. The spokesman for this strike-first shift is none other than Nixon's Secretary of Defense, James Schlesinger, a product of the war college and the Rand Institute, two of the most extreme rabid centers of militarism, jingoism, reaction and fascism. Rand has the dubious distinction of creating the detailed plans for the option of nuclear disaster. Under Agnew's direction it also created the plan for scuttling the 1972 elections. Schlesinger's lifetime credo is "the necessity of maintaining powerful forces as a diplomatic tool in the cold war." He maintains that the American people must "become adjusted to the heavy cost of limited war as a condition of life." It is the nest of the war hawks maintained by the military-industrial complex. It is from this center that the conspiracy is made to scuttle the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT).

Any ideas that the United States can pursue a trade and cultural exchange policy based on detente and a military policy based on the cold war is a dangerous illusion. One or the other will have to give. For the Nixon Administration to maneuver with these two conflicting policies is playing with the very lives of the people of the United States.

The crossroads struggle has also split the Democrats. In fact most

of the vocal cold warriors in Washington are Democrats. Senators Jackson, Stevenson, Bentsen and Professor Rostow are the most active against detente. The Democrats who are for detente, like Kennedy, Mondale and Harriman are pro-detente hesitatingly and mildly. Kennedy especially tries to ride the same galloping horse going in the opposite direction. It is an old Finnish saying that he who rides horses going in opposite directions will not ride for long. The Pentagon is concentrating its main resources and manpower against detente. The Social Democrats, George Meany, Abel of the Steel Union and Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters Union provide a full-time cadre in the struggle against detente. The struggle against detente is now the biggest topic in book publishing. The campaign against detente by the mass media has reached the level of hysteria. One TV channel mobilized five decrepit old comedians for one solid hour of anti-Soviet jokes. For the late-late shows the TV channels have dug up all of the anti-Soviet, anti-Communist movies produced during the cold war McCarthy hysteria.

Many of the liberals are hard at work building anti-detente scarecrows all over the place. They issue warnings against "illusions" about detente. Many of them use the fact that Israel has been forced to retreat as an argument against detente. They say that because of detente, Israel had illusions and therefore lost the October war. Amongst them is Theodore Draper, the pseudo-historian, who writes volumes about what he calls "the premonitions and forebodings on detente." He goes back 400 years to dig up anti-detente material. He repeats, "the tragic story of the Duke of Urbino who had committed 'a classic blunder' 400 years ago." According to Draper: "He [this Duke of Urbino] possessed by far the most advanced artillery of the 16th Century which he foolishly loaned to Cesare Borgia for the alleged purpose of a Borgia attack upon Naples. Instead Borgia promptly turned the artillery upon Urbino as he had planned all along." And with a sense of foreboding Draper concludes "That was the end of Urbino." And then Draper draws the lesson: "Who would have guessed that so many American capitalists would become the 20th-Century Dukes of Urbino?" Draper ends his long anti-Soviet, anti-detente harangue by the following sentence: "Kto Kogo (who-whom). It was Lenin's favorite formulation of the crucial political question. It may be more freely translated as 'who does what to whom.'" Then Draper adds, "It is not a bad way of thinking about detente." Frankly, it is not a bad way of thinking about Draper.

And to make his argument binding, in a typically irresponsible manner he has a footnote in which he takes two words, "retreat" and "struggle," from my article in *Political Affairs,* and puts them in the following sentence: "According to the official custodian of Leninism in the United States, Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Com-

munist Party, U.S.A., detente means, among other good things, 'retreat' by and 'struggle' against the U.S." Draper's scarecrow raises an important ideological question. It is not accidental that he lifted the two words out of their anti-imperialist context because that is really the issue; that is where the self-interests of the people of the U.S. lie. They are basically served by a *"struggle"* against imperialist policies. And secondly, the question of *"retreat"* is involved in a struggle for detente. But it is not a "retreat" for the U.S. or the people of the United States as Draper wants it to appear. It is a retreat from imperialist policies of aggression and repression which above all else serves the best self-interests of the American people.

The acceptance of detente is a very painful process for U.S. imperialism. It is painful because it is a shift from the basic cold war concept that has determined its foreign policies for some 30 years. U.S. imperialism can move towards detente only to the extent that it gives up the concept of trying to deal from a position of strength, that it gives up the concept of blockading the Socialist countries, that it gives up its dream of the "American Century," a dream in which U.S. imperialism would dominate the world. It is painful because the U.S. cannot move towards detente without giving up much of the cold war superstructure—the economic, the ideological, the cultural superstructure molded by the cold war. It is painful and obviously traumatic to the Drapers, Jacksons and Meanys.

Many of the liberals have undertaken the task of taking every popular sentiment and turning and twisting it into their anti-detente framework. They peddle their goods from both sides of the roadway. They have discovered a new mass "isolationism." Some interpret this as meaning that people are isolationists because they have illusions about detente and have relaxed their vigilance about "the danger of Communism." Others see the same "isolationism" as a protest against Nixon's detente policies.

What is interpreted as isolationism is, in fact, a refusal to support the cold war policies of aggression. Not to support the U.S. government grants for military hardware to Saigon, Indonesia and Chile is not isolationism. Lack of enthusiasm for funding and servicing the 450 American overseas bases is not isolationism. A rising anger over the operations of U.S. multinational corporations is not isolationism.

There is a reactionary isolationism based on the cold war concepts. It is the Jacksons, Meanys, Stevensons, who want to isolate the United States from the real world that includes the Socialist sector. With the help of some liberals they are trying to turn the mass rejection of this cold war policy into support for their reactionary cold war anti-detente position.

We must take this healthy reaction and give it a deeper anti-im-

perialist content and mobilize it in the struggle for detente.

Of special significance in the struggle for detente is the formation of the American Committee on United States-Soviet Relations with 38 prominent Americans as founding members, with the purpose of combatting the anti-detente views of Senator Jackson and others.

At a press conference John K. Galbraith of Harvard said, "We didn't want detente to become a partisan issue—the personal property of Republicans at a time when there has been widespread opposition to Nixon." In a policy statement the Committee, a non-partisan, non-governmental body, declares, "The cold war conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union has been a seriously corrupting influence on both domestic and international affairs. Moreover, it has involved the continuing danger of thermonuclear war—the gravest danger the United States, and the world, have ever faced. We regard the current movement away from this cold war conflict as perhaps the most important development in international relations since the end of World War II."

According to Dr. Jerome B. Wiesner, President of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the Committee will speak out in the growing debate over the value of detente and on issues such as trade and arms control. They will seek non-discriminatory tariff treatment in trade with the Soviet Union and oppose the Jackson-Vanik negation amendments.

The Committee is financed by the members and was initiated by Professor Fred Warner Neal of Claremont College in California. Other members of the Committee are: Charles Benton, president of Encyclopedia Britannica Films; Harold J. Berman, Harvard Law School; Benton Cancell, former president, Potlatch Forest Paper Company; A. W. Clausen, president, Bank of America; Richard W. Colburn, Rolled Alloys, Inc.; Patrick Crowley, Chicago lawyer; Dr. William Davidson, director, Institute for Psychiatry and World Affairs; Kirk Douglas, the actor; Dr. Jerome D. Frank, professor of psychiatry, Johns Hopkins; Edward L. Freers, former embassy official, Moscow; Philip S. Gilette, professor of political science, Rutgers; Marshall I. Goldman, professor of economics, Wellesley; The Rev. Theodore W. Hesburgh, president, Notre Dame; Robert M. Hutchins, chairman, Center for Study of Democratic Institutions; Wassily Leontief, professor of economics, Harvard; Eugene McCarthy, former Senator from Minnesota; Michael Michaelis, Washington manager, Arthur D. Little, Inc.; Sheldon T. Mills, former ambassador; Rabbi Stanley Rabinowitz, Washington; Edwin O. Reischauer, professor of History, Harvard; Dr. Howard P. Rome, Mayo Clinic, president, World Association of Psychiatrists; Robert V. Roosa, former Under Secretary of the Treasury; Terry Sanford, president, Duke University;

Raymond L. Thurston, former ambassador; James J. Wadsworth, former ambassador; Thomas Watson Jr., I.B.M.; Harold Willens, chairman, Factory Equipment Corporation; Herbert F. York, department of physics, University of California, San Diego; Paul Ziffron, lawyer, Los Angeles.

While the trend towards detente is irreversible, the basic decision in the United States has not yet been made.

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

In all of the opinion polls the crisis of everyday living, the escalating costs, ranks as the most serious problem. This is now so for all sections of the population.

The realization that the crisis of everyday living—the shortages, the inflation—is not a momentary passing phase, is beginning to make waves in mass consciousness. There is a rising mass anger. There is an accumulation of explosive bottled-up frustration, not quite knowing where to strike first.

Our economy is a complex mixture of the continuing high rate of leaping inflation, blended with stagnation and parts of a recession. It is a blending of 5-parts inflation, 3-parts economic stagnation and 2-parts recession. That's potentially an explosive mixture.

But, as we have said in the past, inflation is becoming more and more an institutionalized process. It has become an added feature to every economic transaction.

In a sense, the pressures toward inflation and the pressures toward recession have become a new contradiction for state monopoly capitalism. It has added a new element to the production cycle. The state takes measures to keep the growth rate alive and to minimize recession. But these very measures fire the rate of inflation. As is the case with detente, the Nixon Administration again tries to ride the two economic horses. It takes measures geared to slow down inflation, and it takes measures that promote inflation. But these measures have a definite class basis. The measures that are geared to slow down inflation are measures the working class and the people have to pay for through a lower standard of living. The measures that fire up inflation are geared to increase corporate profits. And they do. So the contradictory measures run clearly along class lines.

Bourgeois economists try to make it appear that the people must choose either a continuing inflation or a recession. As far as present-day capitalism is concerned it doesn't even give that choice. We have both inflation and development toward recession. The working class and the people must reject both of these alternatives. Such alternatives are motivated by maximum corporate profits. They are both geared to make the people pay for the crisis of capitalism.

The military budget, like oxygen, is the hottest of inflationary fires. But with all their talk about fighting inflation the military expenditures are now headed for a budget of 150 billion dollars annually. So, the same two class economic horses going in opposite directions are clear in the budget proposals as well. On the one hand, military spending is headed for a 150 billion dollar figure; on the other hand, the proposals for spending on education, urban development and other areas of social concern are headed for a 30% cut in federal spending.

FEDERAL RESERVE

As the monopolies tighten their grip on both the economy and the state they are able to try new attacks. We are seeing such an attack in the monetary field.

The spiraling inflation is more of a problem for the banks and other lending institutions. So the Federal Reserve Bank, in alliance with the largest banking conglomerates, is in the midst of an unprecedented attempt to force the country's economy into a mold of their liking. Through the manipulation of credit and money supply they are out to have their way, even if it does result in a depression. This is an operation of state-monopoly capitalism on a new level. They openly say their policies will result in more unemployment, less housing, and that it will destroy small business even in banking. But the scheme will transfer additional billions into the coffers of the banking empires.

What is characteristic of this moment also is that the created shortages are being transferred into grand larceny rip-offs of the pocketbook. Extortion by way of created shortages will continue as a policy of monopoly capital. The crisis of shortages is not a thing of the past. The talk in Washington about cutting back on oil and meat imports is in line with the policy of extortion—creating shortages in the interest of corporate profits.

The cuts in the standard of living have become a continuing long-term pattern. This is also something new. The U.S. Department of Labor admits, for example, that from April 1973 to April 1974, the real wages of industrial workers declined by 7.6%. For people living on fixed incomes this decline is even steeper.

COST OF LIVING CLAUSES

Increasingly trade unions are signing contracts which include cost of living formulas of one kind or another. They affect some 6 million workers by now. And while they do provide some protection against inflation they are not a panacea as some say they are. They slow down the decline in real wages, but they do not stop that decline. Most of the formulas make up for about 70% of the rise in

the cost of living. Most of the formulas have up to a one-year lag-time. So, when you add the 30% not covered to the lag-time, to the speedup, and especially the decreasing work week, it all adds up to a continuation of the decline in living standards.

ECONOMICS OF RACISM

As usual even the slightest slump hits hardest the Black, Chicano and Puerto Rican workers. Unemployment percentages in the first quarter of this year were 9.5% for Black workers, 8.4% for Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and other Spanish-speaking peoples, and 4.9% for other workers. But, as usual, this is not the full story of racism in the field of employment. Between January and April of this year, the Labor Department counted out of the labor force 321,000 Blacks, which is approximately 3% of the total. They are simply left out of the picture. If they had been left in, the unemployment rate would be over 11%. Considering the overall rate of unemployment in the auto industry, where Black workers have been the last to be hired, the rate for Black auto workers is somewhere in the 30% range. Moreover, many of those with lower seniority who will never be rehired are Black. For Black youth, there are no meaningful figures because they are a generation who have not been employed long enough to even qualify on the lists of unemployed. But they are unemployed and should have unemployment insurance since the day they first applied for a job.

MOST BURNING QUESTION

Thus, in the midst of many serious problems the escalating high cost of living has emerged as the most burning of all questions. For brief periods the increases will slow down, only to take on new steam.

The fact that no new low-income housing is being built means new pressures for higher rents that will add to the high cost of living. And it is a policy of the Nixon Administration not to put federal money into low-income housing construction. The huge governmental budgets can only mean escalating taxes. The people of New York City have just been hit with the new increases in the sales tax, real estate tax and a $15 auto use tax. That is the only "accomplishment" of the Beame administration so far.

The public utilities bills are still on a monthly increase schedule. Each monthly electric and gas bill includes a notice of another increase. Because the increases are on a monthly schedule does not mean they are small.

The mass anger about the cost of living is continuing at a boiling point. It is obvious that this question affects more people than any other issue. It is also true that there has never been such an

anti-monopoly sentiment as there is now. This has opened up broad new avenues for the development of anti-monopoly struggles. In effect, this has given an anti-monopoly handle to all struggles.

Our Party has to take a new look and make a new evaluation about the objective possibilities in the development of broad anti-monopoly struggles. There is an underestimation of the mass nature of the anti-corporate feeling.

At the last meeting of the Central Committee we raised the question of nationalizing the energy complex. This was a very timely and correct proposal. But the sentiment for nationalization, or as it is more popularly considered, public ownership, has greatly increased. It has become one of the new mass concepts. There are broad forces —and in this case especially in the ranks of the working class and the trade union movement—who are looking at the question of public ownership in a new way. It is not looked at as some way out idea. What people ask is, "will it work? How will it work?" It is viewed by millions as a realistic and practical alternative to the economic problems that the people face. It is a good subject for forums, "teach-ins," conferences and debates.

TASKS

Before going into the specifics and problems of movements and struggles I want to say a few words about our overall responsibilities in this connection.

Each moment sets its own demands for the leadership of movements and struggles. A vanguard is a vanguard only if it measures up to the vanguard leadership demands of each moment. So what is the nature of the demands on leadership of this moment? The demands reflect the nature of the moment itself. We can agree that there is a rising mood of struggle. There is a rising temper and anger. There is a strong support for peace and a strong support for detente. But we must ask—why then is there no real mass movement or mass actions in the struggle for peace and detente?

There is great anger over the high cost of living. But we must ask: why then is there no real movement against the high cost of living? There are actions, some spontaneous, many of them organized. But there are no city-wide, state-wide or national movements against inflation. Why are there no legislative conferences on inflation?

The Nixon Administration moves into a strike-first nuclear posture but outside of the actions of Women Strike for Peace there has been no real reaction of protest or movements against this dangerous shift.

The Nixon Administration moves, in practice, to erase the laws and past federal government directives against racism established in the fields of jobs, education and housing. But there is no real national

movement against these racist actions.

There is great disgust about Watergate and a broad sentiment for impeachment. But again there are no real national movements specifically on this question.

One could go on into other fields and find the same situation. Under the policies of the Nixon Administration there is a retreat in the field of pollution controls. Housing is almost at a standstill. The federal budget has been drastically cut in the fields of health, education and transportation. There is anger and frustration about these matters, but there are no really organized movements in these fields.

Of course there are some very important exceptions, such as the demonstration against racism and repression in Raleigh, North Carolina on July 4th. This is a very important initiative that is filling a vacuum in this particular area. Here we have Communist initiative, working in a broad united front relationship.

There is a continuing and expanding movement around Chile. There are some very important mass initiatives being taken in this field and we are there also helping to fill a vacuum, again in an important united front relationship.

The initiative launched by *New World Review* to hold the pro-detente meeting around the Socialist Ambassadors to the United Nations was a very important example of filling a vacuum of leadership.

Again in a united front way the broad, united conference held in Chicago which established the National Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation is another such example.

Mass initiatives by such organizations as TUAD against racism, for independent political action and trade union democracy help to fulfill the vacuum of leadership in important working class struggles.

These are important exceptions that indicate what is necessary and can be done.

But what sets this moment aside is the continuing vacuum in leadership. The moment demands the filling of this vacuum. This is a challenge to the vanguard role of our Party.

In many ways this is a unique moment. And because it is unique it demands a special response from our Party. This is a different kind of a period because there do not exist the dozens of left organizations which used to take initiatives. To some extent that ball has been thrown back to us. We must strike the sparks. We must move others. We must find the forms. We must formulate the issues. We must find the leaders who, together with us, will give leadership. At moments like this the Party in its own name must boldly call for mass actions.

It is important to realize that the role of the Party, its initiatives

and resoluteness in fighting for our people's needs, has become indispensable not only for the Party but for the development of mass movements. This role of vanguard is decisive because of the vacuum and because of the strenuous efforts made by state monopoly capitalism to prevent the struggles of the people. This role of the Party is necessary to counteract the influence of the class collaborationist policies of people like Meany, Abel and Fitzsimmons. It is necessary because so many of the liberals have given way to the pressures of the enemy. It is necessary because some on the left have become diverted due to ideological confusion, mainly as a result of anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism.

In this unique period we need to master the two-fold nature of our work: How to build mass movements and how to simultaneously build the Party. Meeting the leadership demands of this moment is really the main challenge of this meeting. It should be the theme of our discussions.

The fulfillment of our leadership responsibilities must start with concrete initiatives, united front initiatives for movements and actions.

There is no greater contribution we can make to the people of the United States or to the world movement than to force U.S. imperialism to take the road of detente. The objective factors for detente are very powerful. But we must ask why there is no real mass movement for detente. I am sure one of the reasons is that many people feel that all it takes is the signing of agreements. Secondly, people do not yet clearly see detente as it is related to their own self-interests. Therefore, we must make that connection.

The fact is that there can be no real assurances of peace or safeguards against a nuclear catastrophe without detente.

The fact is there can be no successful struggle to slow down inflation without detente because detente makes it possible to struggle against the huge war budgets.

The fact is there can be no meaningful struggle to cut taxes without detente.

The cold war spins off reaction. It feeds the racist, anti-democratic forces. The struggle against the cold war is related to the struggle against its reactionary spin-offs.

The struggle for detente is a struggle against the cold war ideology, the cold war culture and the cold war economics. In a very real sense the struggle against the military-industrial complex is tied to the struggle for detente. In this connection the leadership demands of the moment in many states are very specific. "Poop" Jackson presents a real challenge to the progressive movement in the state of Washington. Jackson will lead the cold war pack nationally until he begins to feel the heat against it in his own state. He is free to represent the Pentagon and the Zionist interests as long as no one

is objecting to his cold war provocations and demagogy in the state of Washington.

In Illinois, Stevenson will play the cold war game until the people of Illinois speak out. In *Labor Today* I read the story about the union at International Harvester Corporation. They related the question of jobs to the orders for tractors from the Soviet Union and Poland to detente. It showed good initiative. But why not go one step further? Why not take the initiative and call for mass protests against Stevenson's cold war positions that endanger the jobs of tens of thousands of workers in Illinois? Why should the union not call for a protest against Stevenson that would include pressure on the management of International Harvester to speak out?

In New York the struggle for detente must be related to the struggle against the cold warriors, Buckley and Javits. Buckley is a cold warrior because of his family's oil interests, Javits because of Israel. We must raise the question: what about the interests of the people, the workers of New York? Their interests are in line with the struggle for detente.

This same kind of concreteness is demanded in all states. How can anyone in Cleveland talk about detente without a struggle against Congressman Vanik's criminal activities against trade and jobs, the self-interests of the workers and people of Cleveland? The moment demands that the Party's initiatives in the struggle for detente must be based on making the connection between detente and the self-interest issues of the people.

POLITICAL ACTION

At this moment what are the leadership demands in the field of political action? It is true that the two-party system is in the deepest crisis of its history. The party structures hang together only because there are no other mass political alternatives on the scene. The 24% vote of confidence, or the 76% vote of no-confidence for both President Nixon and Congress is a measure of the alienation and disillusionment with the two old parties. In the last elections the stay-at-home vote hit an all-time high. The California vote was the lowest in 30 years. In most of the other elections the turnout has been about one-third of the eligible voters. The politicos of the two old parties like to refer to this as "voter apathy." This is a false assessment. Apathy would indicate a lack of interest or concern and this is not the case. The stay-at-home vote, or the non-voting, is more of a protest vote, or a vote of no-confidence in the Democratic and Republican Parties. Many voters stay home because there is no meaningful alternative. There is a mass alienation from the business-as-usual bourgeois politics.

The Republican Party twists and turns in the wind as it hangs

on to the scaffolding of Watergate. The Democratic Party is paralyzed with the anticipation of winning the 1974 and 1976 elections by silence on the issues and by keeping the discredited Republican President in office. Impeachment and the issues involved around Watergate are slowly sinking into the bottomless two-party swamp. The crisis of the two-party system, however, is not merely a reflection of the Watergate mess. The two-party system has always had a semi-governmental status and as the state becomes more closely intertwined with monopoly the two-party system becomes more closely intertwined with the state monopoly structure. The crisis of a decaying bourgeois society has its reflection in its political parties. Once elected to office it has become more and more difficult if not impossible to distinguish the Democrats from the Republicans. They run a very close race in corruption, in demagogy, in serving their own master. Whether it is Nixon, Agnew, Mills or Humphrey—they all have a price tag. They are loyal lackeys of monopoly capitalism, the ruling class.

The developments in the Democratic Party leadership since the last elections are clear proof of the iron grip that monopoly has on the two parties. Under Strauss' leadership the Reform Caucus within the Democratic Party National Committee has been whittled down to a powerless minority. The Strausses, the Jacksons, the Humphreys and the McGoverns want to maintain the Reform Caucus, but mainly for the sake of image and not much more. The Democrats are going through with the mid-term mini-convention, including the election of delegates. But the convention is not going to be binding on anyone. At best it will be a forum on issues. Undoubtedly many of the independent forces are going to the convention for the purpose of using it to project programs and solutions.

INDEPENDENCE

Since the last elections the independent forces have generally been in disarray. Even the Watergate developments have not been enough to move them into a more united movement. Only now, in these last months, is there some motion. Some of the motion is related to electing delegates to the mini-convention. Their estimate is that they will have about one third of the delegates. Many of the people involved in this activity are in the various branches of what is called the New Democratic Coalition. Many of the Black elected officials, as well as many trade unionists, will be going to the convention. Some of these forces are calling their own issues conference in Kansas City on the day before the mini-convention. Many of the forces involved are the old McCarthy and McGovern people.

Another base of political independence is the movement of the

elected Black officials. This is a growing force with 2,991 Blacks now elected to public office. There are the 16 members of Congress and some 205 members of state legislatures, and the growing list of Black mayors (from 82 last year to 108 now), and other city officials (with 1,080 city and town council members, an increase of 240 from last year). The Black Congressional Caucus and the Black Legislative Clearing House serve to coordinate these movements, with the Joint Center for Political Studies being the research and information center.

Another source of potential independent strength is manifested by the National Women's Political Caucus. This organization is now campaigning for 828 candidates for public office. This is at the level of state legislature and above. Women Congressional candidates now number 108, an increase of 24% since the last election. The message is clear. The women's political movement, whether through the National Women's Political Caucus or through some other movement, is becoming one of the important advanced detachments of the new movement for independent political development.

There exist other movements on broader levels that must be included in the overall development of political independence. One of these is the movement called Common Cause. It is an organization that claims a membership of 400,000. And while it has many weaknesses as a mass organization it has stimulated independent campaigns and election reform movements in some 17 states. Its recent victory in California was a pacesetter in terms of tactics of concentration on one single issue. Unfortunately, much of their literature was directed against labor union contributions instead of against the agencies of big business and monopoly capital. Also on this level there are literally hundreds of Nader-like consumer movements that have a political bent. Nader's campus groups, actively involved in public and consumer research, have over 200,000 dues-paying members.

It is clear from all this that as yet the main missing link in political independence is the working class forces. Workers, of course, are involved in most of the independent movements. The leadership of COPE just recently recognized that workers who have become disillusioned with the Republican Party are not returning to the Democratic Party, but are seeking for independent forms. So workers are involved, but as yet there is no working class movement of political independence. And, with few exceptions, there are no working class candidates running for public office. But even here by no means is the scene totally negative. Thus, the U.E. convention calls for a labor-based political party and its leadership held many conferences to implement one. Also, two years ago the Illinois state convention of the AFL-CIO passed such a resolution introduced by

Spiegel and others.

There are some new discussions, some new probes being made by some new trade union forces. And rank and file workers are very active in most elections. The main obstacle of course is the grip that the Meany-Abel-Fitzsimmons forces have on the trade union movement. In order to move into the arena of independent political action the workers not only have to break with their own political hangups, they have to break out of the grip of this bureaucratic, reactionary cabal in the trade union leadership. This remains one of the central tasks: the question of how to build a base of political independence in the ranks of the working class. The task in the final analysis is very concrete. Concrete initiatives on every level are the only answer.

All of the potential inherent in these developments, however, will not mature or be guided in an independent direction without the formation of city, state and national left-center coalitions for independent politics. There is also some movement in this direction. The task is to move the left independent forces in such a way as to create a sector of voters significant in number and committed to an independent course in electoral struggles. Without such a left formation for independent political action the center forces will always dominate the left-center coalitions.

In our electoral work we must restate some basics:

- We are for political independence because that is the only path open to break out of the grip of the two old capitalist parties.
- We are for the formation of a new mass people's party as soon as it becomes a realistic step.
- We are for united front formations of independents that include both the people who have left the two-party orbit as well as those who are still in it, but not as an adjunct to the Democratic Party.
- We are for the organization of political formations of independence on every level in every form necessary.

Political independence does not mean narrowness because the majority of the people now consider themselves independents.

MINNESOTA

In order to draw some lessons I want to go into some detail about one concrete experience. These events took place within the last few months and they provide both positive and negative examples for our work in the field of political independence.

As most of you know, for many years Minnesota had a grass roots based Farmer-Labor Party. Then in the '50s the Farmer-Labor Party and the Democratic Party of Minnesota became one called the

Democratic Farmer-Labor Party. The Party was very quickly taken over by Democrats like Humphrey and McCarthy. But the Farmer-Labor tradition never quite felt at home in the Democratic Party. A few months ago some of the broader and left elements in the Democratic Farmer-Labor Party, including some of our people, decided to meet as separate Farmer-Labor Caucuses and if possible to set up a statewide network of Farmer-Labor Caucuses. They issued a leaflet with an advanced program based mainly on the need for public ownership of almost everything in Minnesota.

In order to give you an idea of what the people responded to I want to quote from the original Call:

> We believe that a program of price roll-backs deserves top priority. But high prices are related directly to monopoly in many key industries. Therefore, public ownership must be considered in a practical and tough-minded way. *If a monopolized industry demonstrates that it is unable to function without endangering public health and safety, or damages the environment, or if it is otherwise unable to function within the law to provide needed services at reasonable prices, then the government must, through public ownership and democratically elected controlling agencies, assume control of that industry.* To eliminate these ills, and to provide a source of revenue for governmental programs, we propose:
>
> - Public ownership of the energy industry.
> - State ownership and control of all natural resources.
> - State takeover of Reserve Mining Company.
> - Establishment of a state-owned steel industry.
> - Establishment of state-owned banks and insurance companies.
>
> With such a program of public ownership, the following policies and programs needed to insure a decent standard of living for all citizens would be economically possible:
>
> - Elimination of racism in housing, jobs and education.
> - State and federal responsibility for ensuring absolute full employment.
> - Free medical, dental, and psychiatric care.
> - Housing subsidies for families unable to afford adequate housing.
> - Nursery and day-care centers provided with government funds.
> - Tuition-free higher education.
>
> In order to insure that working people are protected against inflation and that the wealthy and corporations pay their fair share of the tax burden, a number of steps must be taken. We urge the following:
>
> - Elimination of *all* restrictions on the right to strike.
> - Strict price controls and excess profits taxes.

- Repeal of the Taconite Amendment.
- Cost-of-living adjustment of tax brackets.
- Elimination of all tax loopholes.
- Mandatory cost-of-living escalator clause in all labor contracts.

My impression is that as a starter the program was too advanced. I hesitate to be too critical because the response to the program was obviously very good. The Twin Cities (Minneapolis and St. Paul) meeting was attended by 135 people, and even more important is the fact that more than half were people who were elected delegates to the coming state Democratic Farmer-Labor Convention. The trade union representation was exceptionally good and the Black and Indian communities were represented. Students and the academic community were also there. But mainly they were people who have worked in the Democratic Farmer-Labor Party, but who were dissatisfied. They expressed their dissatisfaction by coming to these meetings. A smaller but similar meeting was held in the northern half of the state.

During the meeting our comrades made some sectarian mistakes. Some of it was because of the pressures by a small group of sectarian-left elements. First, no one raised or had any objections to Communists participating in these meetings. The mistakes were on three questions. Some people insisted that on the question of who could belong to the Farmer-Labor Caucus, the clause should state that not only people active in the Democratic Farmer-Labor Party but "also others." In fact there was no need for the clause at all. No one had really raised the question. In most cases life takes care of who belongs or joins such movements.

The second mistake was in the same vein. Some people insisted on a clause that the Caucus will run its "own independent candidates" for public office. Again, the clause was unnecessary. At such an initial stage it was not necessary to formulate the exact relationships of the Caucus to the Democratic Farmer-Labor Party, to the trade union movement, or to the Communist Party. It was crossing an unnecessary bridge prematurely. The insistence on these clauses created havoc at the meetings. It set the movement back.

Now what was the basis of these errors? First, the lack of experience in united front work. Second, trying to skip stages. In most cases the relationships will naturally evolve from the program. And with such an advanced program the relationships would have shaped up very quickly. Third, the people made errors because they were in a rush as a result of thinking in terms of the Caucuses becoming the main independent vehicle of the 1974 elections. There was another error. A Party bulletin was issued before the caucus meeting. This also shows good initiative, but it was also premature. The comrades

should have waited until at least after the first conference was over. It is one thing for the Party to advocate political independence. It is another matter, tactically, of how the Party reacts to specific developments of independence when they take place.

What are the most important lessons to be learned from this experience? The number one and most important and positive lesson is that the Communists and left took the initiative. Two, that the form of the initiative was based on local traditions; and three, it is proof of the mass sentiment that exists below for independent political action. From this I want to suggest that, number one, in every state we look for independent forms based on local experiences and local traditions. In some states, such as Minnesota, the form is based on an old tradition. In other states it is possible to consider such organizations as COPE. In other words, it is clear that the national forms may emerge later based on city, state and congressional district movements. While we cannot project the national forms it is absolutely necessary for us to take initiatives in creating forms that fit the concrete local situations. We have a clear perspective. We have general guidelines of policy. But for tactics each concrete situation must be closely studied so our tactics will reflect the exact reality. That is a major leadership demand of this moment.

As you will recall, only a short while back we had to take special measures to break through the legal obstacles to running Communist candidates. We have made important headway.

But side by side with our legal battles you will also recall that we had to take special measures to break the Party's own ban against running Communist candidates. We have made significant progress on this front also.

In each election we have more Communists running for office. The candidate bug has bitten many of our comrades. And once it does, how can you keep them down at the desks?

Our campaigns are more related to the immediate issues facing the communities. Our platforms and programs are more concrete.

A very fine example of a Communist campaign that is worth studying is the campaign that was conducted by Jack Kurzweil for the office of County Tax Assessor in San Jose, California. The campaign and the platform were based on a careful and serious study of the issues involved. Kurzweil's candidacy was supported by a broad-based citizens committee. The campaign dealt popularly with the issues, but it also exposed the class roots of the system of taxation. It was a serious challenge to the politics of the old entrenched political machines. Kurzweil received over 15% of the total vote which was over 30,000 votes. The campaign was for votes, but in the process it established a new political force that cannot be ignored from now on. The San Jose campaign of course related to the fact that it was there

where the victory to free Angela Davis took place. Many of the people who took part in this election campaign also worked with both Jack Kurzweil and Bettina Aptheker in the Angela Davis campaign. In a sense the change in the political situation in San Jose started with the campaign to free Angela Davis.

There are a few states where the ban on Communist Party candidates is still in force. In the coming elections we must take a closer look at these states and their anti-Communist laws.

In some states the Party is working to set up electoral slates—independent slates that would include Communists. This deserves a lot of attention. It presents great possibilities. As a result of these efforts some form of left electoral fronts can emerge.

Communists are active on all levels of the electoral front. When properly coordinated, work on one level does not have to be in contradiction with work on other levels. The campaigns for Communist candidates must stimulate activities on the level of political independence. Communists' electoral activities must be focused on exposing the most reactionary elements in politics and in strengthening the more liberal elements by prodding and criticizing. Communist campaigns must deepen the understanding of the masses on basic class issues.

We must do more to convince voters that a vote for a Communist candidate is the most meaningful electoral action they can take, that it carries the heaviest political clout. It is the most meaningful because it is an action on a higher, qualitative level.

We must do more to expose not only the two parties of monopoly capital, but also the two-party system.

We must also do more to expose the disruptive tactics of the Trotskyites and the other petty bourgeois radical groupings. Their main aim is to disrupt and to prevent, if possible, the development of unity on all levels. But they are especially active in trying to disrupt formations of left unity.

We must continue the efforts we made during the Presidential campaign to promote working class candidates, including the continued projection of working class Communist candidates.

Our campaigns will be increasingly more meaningful if we see them in their rounded-out sense, if we see them as a part of the overall movement and struggles of the people.

We must continue to master the art of using the new openings that the mass media present, especially in exposing the demagogy and the fraudulence of bourgeois candidates. This gives a new dimension to Communist election campaigns.

THE CENTRALITY OF THE CLASS QUESTION

While it is repeating the obvious, it is necessary to restate the

working class premise of our Party's work. Our policy of industrial concentration, our emphasis on work in the trade union movement is but a reflection of our theoretical understanding—the Marxist-Leninist understanding—of the key pivotal role of the working class.

It is necessary to repeat the obvious because while there is general acceptance of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the class struggle, including the acceptance of the role of the working class, this understanding is not what always emerges as a guiding principle in everyday activities. In some cases the class question is but one of the many other factors considered. In other cases it is an afterthought. Some think that a way to emphasize other factors is to de-emphasize the role of the working class. For others every weakness or obstacle in moving the working class becomes "proof" of the correctness of their lack of emphasis on the working class. Some think that only the working class should be discussed critically. Others see the importance of the working class only because of their great numbers. For them, ideas, leadership, ideology and theory come from other sectors of the population. Often the discussions are about how to mobilize the working class in support of other movements. Very seldom is the discussion about how to mobilize the other sectors in support of the working class movement and struggles. These attitudes and actions result from the pressures of non-Marxist and petty bourgeois forces.

While we do not want to dwell on it, it is correct that we are making some progress. Among the advances we must record the fact that in many areas we have re-established shop clubs. We have functioning Party commissions in most of the industries. And we have established Party shop papers in many of the big shops and industries. Most of the shop papers are of very high quality.

We have conducted some Party industrial schools as well as done some shop recruiting. But after all this we must say that, as a Party, the working class is still not the base of our work. Industrial concentration is still a "special task." It is still the subject for "a special report." There is still what is called Party work, and then there is industrial concentration. There is a struggle for detente. There are efforts in the field of political independence. There is educational work and the press. And then there is that special task called "industrial concentration." There is a basic difference between a "special task" and concentration. For a special task a special committee is assigned. Concentration means that the whole Party is focused on the central point of industrial concentration. As yet this is not the case.

The fact that we have to re-discuss this basic concept over and over is proof that we still have an ideological problem. It must mean that we are not all firmly convinced of the basic fact that a revolutionary movement, and even democratic movements, are not going

very far until the working class becomes the dominant element in the overall struggles. That is why our Party's focus is on this central task.

The weakness could possibly flow from a basic flaw in our thinking —that the working class is not and cannot be such a force. We must continue examining and probing for the ideological roots of this weakness.

It is not necessary to restate the facts about wages, speedup and working conditions. However, the printers' settlement could signal a new round of open-ended runaway automation, with its ensuing increase in speedup, productivity, and a declining work force through attrition. The steel industry signed a six-year contract because the corporations now have a free hand on automation. Within six years they will whittle down the work force to its very bare minimum. What we are seeing is a policy of maximum production resulting in maximum profits with the very minimum working force. Labor contracts that permit open-ended runaway automation undercut the struggle for a shorter work week. In these negotiations the shorter work week has not been raised at all. I know what the pressures are for such contracts. Maybe they are even unavoidable. But we must not close our eyes to the problems that will follow.

For example, we cannot be silent about the meaning of such agreements to the young people without seniority at work or the millions who are outside the production process. We must draw the lessons for future struggles.

We must strengthen the struggle for a shorter work week. It is the only reform that can basically meet the challenge of automation. As the open-ended automation continues the shorter work week is an idea that will explode into mass struggles. We must inject it into the discussions in the trade union movement. We must raise and discuss the need for a six-hour day in shops and locals.

The inflationary hurricane resulting in the high cost of living is very much a trade union issue. The issue must be fought on two fronts: in the struggle for catch-up wage increases and in the field of price rollback legislation.

All victories in the class struggle must be viewed as partial, creating the base for the new struggles. That is how we should view the recent court decisions and consent agreements in the struggle against racism in a number of industries. These are victories of struggle, victories of the civil rights struggles, the Black caucuses and the rank and file movements in general. These decisions in major industries such as telephone, steel, trucking and municipal employees require that payments be made to Black and women workers amounting up to tens of millions of dollars on account of past practices of discrimination. In some cases they call for abandonment of discriminatory

seniority and promotion systems. These decisions have serious shortcomings as was brought out by our Party and in the very good rank and file criticism of the steel decision. Undoubtedly they will be resisted by racist employers and union officials. Therefore, should not a struggle be waged to enforce these decisions and to extend them to other industries? Should they not be the basis for an expanding struggle against racism on all fronts? These are minimum concessions that can be turned into important victories.

In many cases the corporations and the unions involved are seeking to evade clear cut compliance with these decisions. And it is also possible that the Supreme Court with its decisions on limiting "class action suits" was aiming to block these suits against discrimination in additional industries.

These legal victories, just like the Fairfield decision in steel, are important new openings in the struggle against racism. If properly used these struggles can be important levers in the struggle for the unity of the working class. These developments can give a new meaning to such concepts as preferential hiring as a means of undoing some of the past practices of discrimination in hiring. Our Party pioneered in setting forth this concept at a time when almost everyone rejected it. What is at issue of course is not preferential treatment of Black workers but the removal of what has been a preferential treatment of white workers for generations. These new rulings can be used as a basis for struggle to end the discriminatory practices in hiring and promotion on the basis of equality.

The practice of discrimination based on racism has on the one hand given an edge to white workers in hiring, promotion and better jobs. But because of class disunity that results from racism, the consequences have been an increase in the rate of exploitation and lower wages, in the first place for Black workers, but also for white workers. Thus, racism is an anti-working class instrument.

THE MEANY, ABEL, FITZSIMMONS MOB

The central obstruction to developments in the working class movement is the Meany-Abel-Fitzsimmons craft union mob that dominates most of the trade union forces. They not only dominate the national scene, but similar elements dominate most of the state AFL-CIO organizations. Now of course this has been true for most periods in history and, as you know, there have been some unbelievably corrupt, degenerate, class collaborationist cabals running the AFL executive board in years past.

But never in history has the trade union movement been so dominated by the worst mob of totally case-hardened, reactionary, toadying bootlickers as is the case today. They are more completely class collaborationist, racist, red-baiting and corrupt than any in the history

of the AFL-CIO. Ideologically, they are more openly corrupt than any leadership of the past. In general, they constitute a most active reactionary force.

This mob is the most active anti-detente force. The fact is that trade with the Socialist countries is the most job-creating of all foreign trade. It is the only trade that does not take jobs away. This, however, does not stop this gang from doing everything it can to stop detente and put an end to the new job-creating trade relations with the Socialist world.

They campaign for impeachment not because of Nixon's reactionary policies, but rather because Meany is against "detente," to which they refer indirectly as "the grave danger on the international front." Meany boasts of himself as "the number one anti-Communist of this country." At other times he has boasted that he never walked on a picket line for any union. These are the characteristics of a corporate stooge. Meany's and Abel's open support for Vice President Ford now, and Jackson for 1976, is based on their anti-detente position. They have a secret understanding with Ford and Jackson on these matters. From carrying golf clubs for Nixon Meany has changed courses, and now carries them for Jackson, Ford and Wallace.

One of the significant developments on the world scene is the isolation of the AFL-CIO from the world trade union movement. The trade unions in Europe from both the capitalist and Socialist countries have set up a new all-inclusive united trade union setup. Meany has done everything possible to stop this development, but he has failed. This unity includes all trade unions—those led by Communists, Socialists and Christian Democrats. It includes the trade unions from the Socialist countries. In this sense the world is dealing harshly with Lovestone's pet anti-Communist projects. The fact that his CIA, anti-Communist world is falling apart may have induced Lovestone to resign as the head of the International Department, which specializes in serving U.S. imperialism in Latin America and Africa.

What gives this group of class collaborators a new and additional reactionary dimension is that they are now staffed and surrounded by an ideologically sophisticated cadre of right-wing Social Democratic class collaborators who are able to cover up the policies of class sellout, the policies of racism, with fancy phrases, with anti-Communist and liberal rhetoric. These right-wing Social Democrats have become the buffer between the radicalized workers, especially the young workers, and the top AFL-CIO bureaucracy. These right-wing Social Democrats now occupy most of the ideological posts. These are people who cover up their reactionary class collaborationist policies by professing to be interested in socialism, and attach themselves to the labor movement like leeches. Their new base of operations is the Social Democratic Federation. They are the speech writers

and the editors of many of the trade union papers. They are the educational directors and the secretaries to the bureaucrats. And of course they seek full charge of the international departments. They are the vile anti-detente, anti-Communist cadre in the trade union movement. They constitute a major barrier which the working class will have to overcome on the road to fulfilling its historic task.

They provide training cadre for the two special institutions set up to offset the rising radicalization among Black and Chicano workers. This has been the role of the Randolph Institute. But the bureaucracy has the same assignment for the new Latin American Labor Council. The assignment of these institutions is to run interference and to create a cadre, a class collaborationist cadre, among the Black and Chicano unionists. It is a hard fact of life that if we are going to be successful in our trade union work we have to more vigorously expose this anti-Communist, racist poison surrounding the trade union bureaucracy. They are class collaborators with a thin "Socialist" veneer for effect only.

On the one hand the top bureaucracy is the worst ever, the most class collaborationist ever. On the other hand the objective conditions are more ripe than ever for class struggle trade unionism. There are some very significant developments in the trade union field. There is definitely a growing unity on the membership level. On the level of local unions the discriminatory racist bars against Black workers being elected to leadership are continuing to disappear. This trend is evident nationwide, but extensively and most significantly it is a trend among southern workers.

The Black caucuses and the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists have an important impact on trade union developments. The struggle against racism and for class struggle trade unionism go together, just as class collaborationism and racism go hand in hand. Class struggle trade unionism rejects racism, while the class colloborators promote racism.

The Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) is a very important new development. The various state conferences and the national conference in Chicago added a new dimension to trade unionism. There is no question that the bureaucracy will try to keep this movement in the class collaborationist column. But it will be difficult because it is precisely the class collaborationist policies affecting women workers that are giving rise to this movement. We must pay serious attention to this development. Its impact will be felt in the drive to organize the unorganized, which was one of the central demands of the conference in Chicago. This is of great significance because nationally only 12% of women workers, who constitute 41% of the total work force, are organized. And in the

South the figure is less than 3%.

We must see this development from the viewpoint of the working class. It greatly adds to the strength of the working class movement. And because it strengthens the working class it can also strengthen other sections of struggle. It is precisely because women workers are organized as a part of the working class movement that they can be a factor in extending the working class viewpoint and strength into other movements.

We must contribute to this movement by giving it the benefit of our experiences in organizing local chapters of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), and by injecting a class struggle trade union orientation into their organizing efforts.

On the one hand there is great cynicism, distrust and disgust with the trade union bureaucracy. Workers very often look upon the top leadership as they look upon people like Nixon and politicians generally. But on the other hand there is a definite growing mood for struggle. The growing mood of struggle is a reaction to the working conditions and to the crisis of everyday living that affects workers. There is a growing feeling that on matters of inflation the struggle will have to go political. Some unions are supporting bills in Congress that would make cost of living clauses mandatory for all workers. A more effective direction in the struggle against inflation is substantial wage increases, price rollback and control with, of course, no wage freezes.

There is also a growing movement against the bureaucratic, autocratic trade union structure. More and more the rank and file are demanding to have a greater say about contracts and the election of officers. They want a more viable shop steward system. The mood is towards more militant struggles on such issues as health and safety. There is a growing mood to struggle against what the corporations consider corporate prerogatives. These go into more basic class questions. These include the restriction of corporate prerogatives over such matters as layoffs, closing of factories and mines, speed of production lines, problems of health, safety and pollution, and questions of overtime.

FARM WORKERS

The struggle of the farm workers is a very crucial struggle affecting the whole trade union movement. The question of class collaboration or class struggle trade unionism is very much an issue in this struggle. The role of Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters Union, the class collaborationist, is that of a typical class collaborationist strikebreaker. Meany and some of the other officials of the AFL-CIO give money and lip service, but no real support. We must see this struggle in its full meaning, including the question of class struggle trade union-

ism, the struggles of the Chicano people and the important question of relationships between the working class and the trade union movement in general and the Chicano people. We must do much more both in the fields and in the campaign of boycotting these goods at the retail outlets. It is a struggle that can be won. It is a struggle in which we can make the difference.

OUST THE CLASS COLLABORATIONISTS!

Within the framework of always seeing the monopolies as the main enemy there is a need to mount a relentless struggle against class collaborationism in the trade union movement, above all as it is represented by the dominant sections of the top union leadership. The key to this is constant exposure in our press, in our Party's shop papers —ideological exposure, but exposure that explains how these policies affect the concrete self-interests of workers. The problem cannot be stated as some put it: "Well, after all, this is the only trade union movement we have," inferring that we should not rock the boat. We must do away with any idea of, "My union right or wrong." Our work must be based on the concept of: "When my union is wrong we will fight to put it right." The issue is the building of class struggle trade unionism that will meet the new situation facing workers in a period of capitalist decline and crisis. This is a difficult task. It is a many-sided, many-faceted task.

It is a difficult task because class struggle trade unionism is related to such basic matters as the development of class consciousness, working class political independence, the elimination of racism, and the development of a left sector in the trade union movement. Class struggle trade unionism is tied to the rise of an organized militant rank and file. It must be a movement based on the rank and file. It is difficult but it is in the cards. Objective developments are increasingly ripe for class struggle trade unionism. Its projection is a leadership demand of the moment. The history of the labor movement and militant struggle is a source of great strength in this period. The militant strikes, the heroic working class leaders and members who gave their lives in battle against the company police, the National Guards and Federal troops, make up a voluminous history. Every Communist and every worker should know this history.

Very often there seems to exist what Kissinger in international affairs calls "a conceptual crisis." In other words, the question of what is the overall "concept" of trade union work. It is interesting that the "concept" often bothers those most who do the least about these matters in life. In the abstract, there can be all kinds of conceptual problems. In life a "concept" is very often determined by the concrete situation and in most cases this is also the "concept" that works.

Frequently one hears questions about the National Coordinating

Committee for Trade Union Action and Democracy, popularly known as TUAD. TUAD is being discussed and debated in ever wider circles of the labor movement. This is proof of its vitality and its potential for fulfilling a very much needed leadership vacuum in the trade union movement. TUAD in its program and leadership cadre is a reflection of the broad scope of the rank and file movement, including the full political spectrum of militant workers. Because it is an effective organization it is the object of red-baiting attacks by the corporations, the FBI and the trade union bureaucracy. Some on the left discuss TUAD as if it was the main obstacle to rank and file development. And again, very often this comes from people who have nothing to do with rank and file developments. They enjoy discussing concepts but shy away from the practical work that would strengthen the labor movement and also give them a better base to discuss concepts.

TUAD and *Labor Today* are making important contributions in many areas. TUAD encourages class struggle trade unionism. It encourages working class unity. It takes initiatives in the struggle against racism. It encourages independent political action. It tries to bring the experience of workers of other countries into play. It encourages the organization of rank and file caucuses. It pushes and prods trade union leaders. It takes initiatives and encourages others to do the same. TUAD has given many rank and file movements a sense of belonging, a sense of coordination, a sense of national scope. But TUAD is not going to do what Communists and progressives have to do where they work, or what they have to do in unions in which they are members. No one can blueprint exactly what form rank and file activities should take. What moves the rank and file into action is the right form.

The policy of class collaboration is based on the overall concept of not recognizing that classes exist or that there is a class struggle. Class struggle trade unionism rests on the premise that there is a working class and that the class struggle is unavoidable. It is from such separate bases that the two policies branch off. The struggle against class collaboration cannot be conducted on a philosophical level. It comes down to concretes, to tactics, to demands, to methods of struggle. Therefore, the struggle for the policies of class struggle trade unionism takes place also in the context of the concretes. There is a world of difference between class struggle negotiations for the needs of the workers and class collaboration agreements—sweetheart contracts, cocktail negotiations and business trade unionism—where the demands of the corporations for profits and production dominate and the interests of the workers are bargained away.

While we have not talked much about it there are still some problems in trade union work that result from the activities of the ultra-

left or "crazies" as they are called by many workers. This is a problem because unfortunately workers very often identify their provocative antics with us. The fact is they do harm to the trade union movement and to our Party, which is their objective. They are few in number but in some unions they are vocal and a disruptive force. We must take a more active stand against their anti-working class disruptive activities. We must do more to expose their antics. We must do more in exposing our basic differences with them. We must not be silent partners to antics that basically help the employers and right-wing elements in the trade union movement. The fact is that we will have difficulties in winning honest workers to our side as long as they think that the "crazies" are somehow or other related to Communists. We cannot close our eyes and hope they will go away. They are not interested in strengthening the trade unions. They are not concerned with the self-interests of workers. They are not for an active rank and file movement. They are against unity of the left forces. They are against working class political independence. They are an obstacle in the struggle against racism. They are a roadblock to the development of class and socialist consciousness. They disrupt meetings and encourage provocations. They do all this under the false umbrella of left phrases—socialism, solidarity and labor party.

One of the most encouraging developments are the reports that anti-Communism among workers is declining. We are getting such reports from all parts of the country. In a sense this is a new development. We must study this very carefully. This opens up new possibilities in the struggle for class struggle trade unionism. It opens up new possibilities in the promotion of class consciousness and, of course, the discussion of socialism. We should study it from the viewpoint of Communist participation in the unions and of Party building. These developments present some of the leadership demands of this moment in the working class movement.

YOUTH

The objective developments continue to have a special sharp edge against the youth. Young people are having great difficulty in breaking into the employment circle. Because of automation industry produces more with less workers. There is a decline in possibilities for employment in the professional and scientific fields. Young workers have not had the opportunity to build seniority or unemployment insurance claims. And what is true for youth in general is doubly so for Black, Chicano and Puerto Rican youth.

To fulfill the leadership demands in this field requires that we have some assessment of currents and trends.

The mass media have been working overtime to convince everyone, but in the first place the youth, that they are now another silent

generation. They never tire of showing films of how quiet the campuses are. This of course again reflects a newsreel view of reality. The young workers in the shops certainly are not silent. They are among the most militant of the shop workers and of the rank and file movements. And certainly the Vietnam vets are not a silent generation either. When one looks beneath the surface, the fact becomes clear—the radicalization of youth has continued to deepen and broaden. It is true some changes have taken place in the arena of movements and struggles. But it is wrong to conclude that this is a silent generation. Even the most recent public opinion polls show this.

Sixty-three percent of American college students, according to Yankelovich's findings, believe that America is democratic in name only and that business and other special interests run the country. Fifty-four percent of the students want to fundamentally reform big business, 61 percent want to reform the political parties. Four out of five believe U.S. foreign policy will lead inevitably to more Vietnams. Only 34 percent think the U.S. should fight a war to protect its national interests or to protect its allies. Only 30 percent think we should fight to contain Communism.

At present detente is supported by the overwhelming majority of U.S. youth. They relate it to their rejection of war and preparations for war. In their support for detente they also show that they are not as deeply anti-Communist as sections of the older generation are.

On the campuses there is a deeper radicalization, a more mature and sober view of politics and revolution. The experiences of the '60s are more critically analyzed and the quick solution, the go-it-alone, terrorist and anarchist approaches are basically rejected. The effects of Watergate and the worsening economic conditions have helped the students to see the deeper implications of capitalism. While it is true that Maoist and Trotskyite ideas do have some effect, and they are given full display and support by the mass media, yet on the campuses generally there is a rejection of the organized forms of Maoist-Trotskyite trends. Many who were for a moment enamoured with Solzhenitsyn were soon turned off because of the reactionary content of his ideas, including his support of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and his love affair with George Meany.

Just as the struggle against U.S. aggression is not over for the people of Indochina, it is not over for the people of the United States. It is not over for the vets who came back. It is not over for the thousands who refused to serve in the ugly war. The Nixon Administration and monopoly capital have taken an antagonistic stance against both. The people must demand immediate unconditional amnesty and the restoration of full rights for all who refused to serve, and jobs and educational benefits for those who served *and* those who

refused.

The tremendous experience of the Young Workers Liberation League with the World Youth Festival, in the impeachment movement and the number of successful electoral campaigns shows a new acceptance of the YWLL and the Party as a legitimate political trend, and in growing cases their recognition as a leading political force. This new development has made it possible for the YWLL to extend its contacts with broad youth organizations.

There are signs of the radicalization in the ranks of some of the more traditional youth organizations like the Ys. Among other programs, the YMCAs are now taking up ideas like a ten-year war against racism and re-establishing contact with youth organizations in Socialist countries. Many of the Ys are organizing tours to the Soviet Union. They are organizing forums on detente, racism, imperialism and radical politics.

In all this there is also a leadership vacuum in general, as well as among the left-leaning youth. The problem of so-called "dissidents" and "Jewish emigration" is an ideological hangup among some sections of the youth.

Like the Party, the YWLL can step into this leadership vacuum. It can fulfill its responsibilities especially if it drops some old habits and weaknesses and launches a program in a mass way to build alliances and united fronts. For this purpose the League is working on the introduction of a Youth Employment Bill in the U.S. Congress, in state legislatures and city councils. The Bill will call for creation of thousands of jobs for youth at union wages, without discrimination. This is a concrete action that will make it possible to unite thousands of youth and youth organizations in a new alliance of youth. The YWLL is also busy building a struggle for the repeal of the new sub-minimum wage laws specifically designed against youth. These are issues and struggles that must be of general concern. They must not be relegated to the "youth movement."

The Young Workers Liberation League will hold its Third National Convention this coming December. It is now one of the established organizations. It has earned its right to the designation as "the militant Marxist-Leninist youth organization." The comrades view this coming Convention as an action convention which will highlight their campaign for the Youth Employment Bill. Rather than the Convention being the beginning of a new thrust, they see it as a high point in an active, ongoing campaign. They see their Convention as a united front event. For example, they are going to invite members of Congress to address them on the Employment Bill. They are going to invite leaders of national and international youth organizations. With these kinds of activities the YWLL can emerge to fulfill the leadership demands of this moment.

THE SOUTH

It is an indication of progress that at this meeting when we are discussing what the leadership demands of the moment are, we are able to realistically discuss what the leadership demands are that arise in the southern states.

We can discuss this meaningfully because we now have Party organizations in Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, Virginia, Alabama and Louisiana, as well as in Texas and Florida. Besides the Party, the Young Workers Liberation League is organized in Nashville, Memphis, Louisville and Birmingham. We can discuss it realistically because in states like Kentucky, Tennessee and Alabama the Party, which used to be all white, is now about 50-50, Black and white. We can discuss it with an eye to giving leadership because our comrades are involved in mass work, mass organizations and mass struggles.

In Virginia, the comrades have begun initiating a statewide effort on inflation. Their petition campaign now has several thousand signatures and is mainly based in trade unions.

In North Carolina, our comrades, in broad united front relations with people from all walks of life, are a factor in the building of the new North Carolina Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression.

In Kentucky, the Party has been a factor in organizing what is probably the most active impeachment movement in the South. There is also a significant defense movement there.

In Tennessee, our comrades are active in supporting the striking Alladin workers and we are a factor in rank and file developments in the furniture workers, paper makers, glass workers, office employees and other unions. In one Tennessee city, a comrade is running for an elected office as an independent candidate coming from the labor movement and breaking from a past involvement in the Democratic Party. Our comrades are helping to put together an organization that will give expression to the trend towards independence.

In Alabama, the Party is playing an important role in the organization of steel and hospital workers and in support of their strike in Birmingham.

In Louisiana, our comrades have done an outstanding job in relationship to the struggles of the longshoremen. They have effectively used the *Daily World* in their work.

The Black liberation struggles of many years have established a strong, broad, new democratic base in the South. This broad base, especially in the Black communities, serves as a center and a stimulant for mass democratic struggles generally. Independent political forces are emerging in the South in many forms. They move towards independence while in most cases at this moment they are still related to the Democratic Party. The Southern Christian Leadership Con-

ference (SCLC) continues as a militant catalyst for struggles. The National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression has become an important, established movement in many parts of the South. Because of this the demonstration in Raleigh made history.

Southern strategy is not solely Nixon's. It is monopoly capital's southern strategy. The visits of Senators Jackson and Kennedy to Governor Wallace show that it is also a two-party strategy. The southern strategy is for Wallace to demagogically consolidate his base in the South so he can serve as a reactionary power-broker in the national Democratic Party, attempting to block any candidate he opposes and hoping to become the Vice Presidential candidate in 1976. With the southern strategy in 1968, Nixon assured himself and the Republican Party a solid base in the South through demagogic and racist policies primarily on the issues of housing and busing. He repeated his performance in 1970 and 1972. Today, as is the case nationally, he has lost much of his base in the South. Watergate has eroded the underpinnings of Nixon's southern strategy.

The main trend among the white masses that is new is their great disillusionment with those who were their heroes only a couple of years ago. But this disillusionment has its negative side effects becouse it is also the main fuel for the Wallace campaign. He appears to many as a candidate opposed to corruption and bureaucracy. Many who favor impeachment look to Wallace to save the country from Watergate. However, it is also significant that Wallace is forced to—but also that he can and does—maneuver to shift his public image somewhat on the question of racism. He is forced to do this because the objective conditions do not sustain his violent, open racist stand.

The weaknesses in the situation, including in our Party's work, are in the working class sector. But even in this picture there is a very positive development. There is a serious turn towards Black-white working class unity. This development has been most pronounced around the numerous strike struggles in the South.

It is clear that the struggles and the movements in the South need what only the working class can give. Everywhere the struggles and movements must take the path of political separation from the two-party camp, from the influence of monopoly capital. This is a necessary historic process that we must relate to. This is possible only when they are allied with working class movements. Without this class base politics will tend to stay at the level of bourgeois politics. This is true for all progressive forces. It is true for the trade union movement, as it is for the Black elected officials of cities who have to deal with the practical problems of their communities within the context of a state structure and a political structure that is monopoly controlled. Only a movement, a struggle, a working class power base, can and will create the conditions for the separation of the people's

movement from the grip and the influence of monopoly capital.

This is of course easier said than done because it is not only a question of moving workers into the political arena. It is also a question of convincing the workers, showing the workers, that they have to act and take actions as a class. This again goes into the basic question of class consciousness and independent political action.

In order to help the working class in the South to assume its proper place a key question is the organization of the unorganized. The South remains the bastion of unorganized industries. Between 1964 and 1970, 100,000 workers were organized in the South. That is a good achievement. But, during that same period, 500,000 new industrial workers emerged, which means there were at least 400,000 more unorganized workers. The organization of the unorganized in the South is, of course, the responsibility of the trade union movement as a whole. It is also the responsibility of our Party. We cannot accept the concept that it has been tried before. What could not be accomplished under previous different conditions can be accomplished today because of the new developments. The changing political scene, including the election of Black public officials, makes it possible to approach the question of organizing the unorganized in a new way.

The South is emerging as a very crucial sector in the struggles of the peoples of the U.S. The South has been the solid base for racist and reactionary policies. But it has also been the spark that has ignited national movements in the struggle against reaction.

Our Party must see the work in the South as one of its most important points of concentration. This is also one of the leadership demands of this moment.

IDEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS

Whether in a period of ebb or flow the struggles do not unfold without ideological hangups. That should not surprise us because after all that is what the work of a vanguard party is all about.

On the positive side it is important for us to take note of the continuing decline in the effectiveness of anti-Communism. Interest, inquisitiveness and wanting to know more about socialism and Communism has largely replaced the mass fear and opposition of past years.

The Government's list of so-called subversive organizations was abolished because it had become useless as an anti-Communist instrument. No one paid any attention to it. And as you know just last week we finally buried the last bone of the McCarran Act.

We must now raise in a new way with the trade unions, which caved in under the Government pressure during the McCarthy hysteria and adopted anti-Communist clauses in their constitutions, that they

should now respond and bring their constitutions up to date by abolishing these relics of the McCarthy period.

In spite of these setbacks the enemy has not given up anti-Communism. Together with racism, anti-Communism remains U.S. capitalism's main ideological weapon. This will also have its ebb and flow. But it will be with us till the bitter end. We should have no illusions about that.

Because of a quirk of history our country is now and will continue to be the place where most of the so-called "dissidents" from the Socialist countries are being dumped. They create some additional ideological problems. Based on experience their impact does not last long. The realities of our capitalist life of exploitation soon set them straight. Many of them have been "spoiled" by Socialism. They seem to have one general complaint about life under capitalism—that "society does very little for us." Recognition of that fact about capitalism is only the first step to their disillusionment.

When some progress takes place very often new problems appear. Some victories have been won in the battle against racism. But the war against racism has not been won. It has not been won in any area of life. But the victories are already being used by some to relax the struggle and the vigilance against racism. This could not be a bigger mistake. Any accommodation to racism is an invitation to racism.

Nixon and Congress are pushing through the racist anti-busing bill. The Nixon Administration is dismantling any Government setup that in any way can or might take a stand against racism. The cuts in housing, in health, in education, in urban renewal all have a racist edge. We would not be honest if we did not admit that this created mood of accommodation in the struggle against racism, because of some victories, also has its influence in the ranks of the Party. It is reflected in not raising the struggle against racism sharply enough. It is reflected in permitting more subtle acts and expressions of chauvinism to go unchallenged. This we cannot allow. We must take up the struggle with all the force possible in the mass movements as well as its reflection in the Party.

STRATEGY FOR A BLACK AGENDA

Strategy for a Black Agenda by Comrade Winston has become a positive factor in influencing the direction of discussion in wide circles of the population. It has also become a bone in the throat of those who represent bourgeois currents of thought, including in the narrow circles of opportunist, anti-working class, anti-Communist elements.

There is yet another development that proves the great value and the correctness of this book. In its opportunistic and racist fashion the house organ of a small Maoist clique in the U.S., the *Guardian*,

concentrates its attack on Comrade Winston. It takes special exception to Comrade Winston's very correct characterization of Maoism as "motivated by bourgeois nationalist opportunist expediency," and that it is "racist and opportunist." Every new move by the Maoist leadership proves Comrade Winston correct.

But it is also obvious why the *Guardian* takes such frantic exception to these specific characterizations. It is not only because Comrade Winston is "right on the button" about Maoism but his characterizations fully apply also to Mao's little helpers on the *Guardian.* The present controlling clique has destroyed the image of the *Guardian* built on past contributions. It has become yet another erratic sheet—representing no one, influencing no one—keeping its head above water only as a leech on the anti-Communist, anti-Soviet scum that trickles down from the sewers of U.S. imperialism.

THE MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY

In the past one used to hear the expression, "The Party does not have a monopoly—the patent rights—to Marxism-Leninism." In the Party that was an expression of a lack of confidence in the Party. And, in a more basic sense, it was an expression of opportunism that moved toward revisionism. One does not hear the expression now and the experiences of the past years should dispel any doubts about the Marxist-Leninist character of our Party.

There are always the pretenders, the pseudo-Marxists, the revisers. They come and they go. All of the sects who pretend or profess to be Marxist-Leninist are essentially opportunistic and revisionist.

They are all always trying to build organizations that opportunistically attempt to bypass the sharp points of the class struggle, the central features of the enemy's attack. They all try to bypass the class question by ignoring or downgrading the role of the working class. They think they bypass the anti-Communist attacks by covering themselves with a veneer of anti-Communism, by slandering the Communist Party, U.S.A. They accommodate themselves to imperialism's anti-Sovietism. They capitulate to racism. They play up to bourgeois nationalism by rejecting working class internationalism. They play up to all the petty bourgeois traits—individualism, crackpotism and anarchism.

We say to all of the honest people who are drawn into these schemes—they will fail. It is a waste of time. And if you are looking for a Marxist-Leninist party you are welcome in the ranks of the one legitimate Marxist-Leninist party in the United States that is an active and growing factor on the political scene.

All periods of massive political upsurge have crucial moments when weaknesses emerge and must be corrected. And in this

moment the main danger is in the direction of underestimation. In brief outline this includes underestimating the rapid growth of the anti-monopoly feeling among the masses, an underestimation of the growing readiness of workers to unite their ranks in a new level of rejecting racism, to struggle for detente and for political independence. We underestimate the readiness of people and workers to accept, yes, to welcome Communists as leaders, and with that we underestimate the possibilities of recruiting and of rapid mass increase in press and literature circulation to the point of influencing the political thinking of millions. This calls for a new bold approach to Party building, to mass tasks and our united front work.

PRECISE ASSESSMENTS

As our mass work improves, as we move into leadership of mass movements, there is increasingly a need for a more precise assessment of the different levels of mass thought. It is only on the basis of this more precise assessment that we can more accurately judge whether we are tailing behind movements or whether we are battling nonexistent windmills. Only on the basis of an accurate assessment of mass currents will our tactics bring out the full potential from each development and moment of reality.

We must not deal sloppily with the assessment of levels of mass thought.

For example, militancy is a primary mass reaction. It is an essential ingredient of any struggle. But it is not necessarily in essence revolutionary. Militancy does not necessarily reflect class consciousness or socialist consciousness. The same is true of anti imperialism. This mass current is not necessarily on the level of anti-capitalism. And the mass anti-monopoly, anti-corporate sentiment is not necessarily on the level of anti-capitalism. Of course these mass currents do not flow in isolation from each other. They have an overlapping relationship. But to pursue more effective tactics it is necessary to have a more precise assessment of each level. It is also necessary to see them as they go through the process of change. As masses gather experience, as they acquire a deeper understanding as a result of our Party's political and ideological work, the trends of mass thought move to higher levels.

We must see both the role of the objective factors as well as our role—the role of our revolutionary Party. At moments like this we can be a direct factor in changing the patterns of mass thought. Our efforts must be directed on all levels—anti-monopoly, anti-imperialism, against racism, as well as on the level of class and socialist consciousness. We must pay special attention to giving masses the class struggle viewpoint, the revolutionary viewpoint.

MARXIST-LENINIST UNDERSTANDING

In a sense the same yardstick applies to problems of people joining the Party. Not all who join remain in the Party. People join the Party for various reasons. Some of course come in on the basis of ideological and political convictions. But others join because of the Party's position and contributions in the struggles around specific issues. This has always been true. During the deep economic depression of the '30s thousands joined the Party because of our leadership in the struggles of the unemployed. Some join because of our leadership in the trade union movement and on economic issues. Others join our Party because of our struggles against racism and anti-Semitism. One could list the whole spectrum of issues in explaining why people join the Party. There is absolutely nothing wrong with this. In fact, the Party's stand and contributions on the immediate issues should be the basis of thousands joining our Party. That is not a problem.

The problem is in not giving the necessary attention to the questions that follow. These immediate issues and the Party's programmatic stand are not always enough to keep all who join in the Party.

Giving the new members a deeper class viewpoint, a Marxist-Leninist understanding, is a task that cannot be either postponed or left to the new member to acquire in the process of everyday activities. The leadership, the club, must accept the responsibility of giving the new members immediately and on a continuous basis a fundamental working class, revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist understanding. This is key in putting an end to the turnover in our membership. It is necessary to understand that there is an ideological and political bridge that all must cross. The Party must be involved and helpful in this process.

THE PROCESS OF RADICALIZATION

The very latest opinion poll taken within the last few days, more than any polls of the past, verifies this process of radicalization. The poll indicates that 79% of the population of the United States is beginning to understand the class character of U.S. society. They correctly believe that this country is "run by and for the rich," and that the Government "is an instrument in the hands of the rich." They also recognize that "the rich are getting richer and the poor are becoming poorer."

The impeachment process brings this home to additional millions. We should continue to raise the demands for impeachment and for new elections within 90 days after the impeachment.

We are for Nixon's impeachement because of his anti-labor, anti-democratic, racist policies. We are for his impeachment because he was the king-pin in a conspiracy to destroy democratic institutions.

However, we are not going to join hands with those who are using

impeachment to fight against detente. We are not for Ford, who would only become the new magnet around which the worst ultra-right racist forces would be drawn.

We are not for jumping from the frying pan into the fire. We are for impeaching Nixon as a first step in the process of impeaching monopoly capital. We are for impeaching and cleansing out the political complex in Washington. At times this situation creates some difficult tactical situations. But this dilemma only further emphasizes the need for an independent political movement that can encompass both the drive for impeachment of the Nixon Administration and the struggle for detente. This situation brings to the forefront and into sharper focus the need for more basic revolutionary changes in the country.

MILITARY TAKEOVER

Our political and ideological work must take up the struggle against the continuing danger that comes from reactionary, fascist, ultra-right, militaristic propaganda. This recationary venom is geared to support the numerous developments and measures that move in the direction of military takeover.

We must dispel any illusions that what happened in Chile, Uruguay, Guatemala and Brazil, under U.S. military and C.I.A. direction, cannot happen here. In fact this is the central lesson of the events that led to Watergate.

The politicians often speak about the "civilian control of the military" through the Department of Defense. This is part of the monopoly state coverup. There are eleven generals and admirals who, as Assistant Secretaries of the Department of Defense, control every policy-making position.

Since November 9, 1933, for some 40 years, we have lived under "declared national emergencies." Nixon has available the full authority under four such proclamations to institute full dictatorial powers. Nixon, and even Ford, have the authority given to them by Congress to: seize property; organize and control the means of production; seize commodities; assign military forces abroad; institute martial law; seize and control all transportation and communications; regulate the operation of private enterprises; restrict travel; and in a plethora of particular ways, control the lives of all American citizens.

If it is to have meaning, the impeachment drive must serve the purpose of dismantling this potential fascist-like authority of the Presidency. The lesson of Greece and Cyprus is that without absolute control over the military there is always the danger of military takeover. This is a continuing danger in the United States.

THE PARTY

During the past year we have been very correctly stressing the

absolute necessity of bringing forward the Party and its press by putting forward Party candidates, by greater participation of the Party in mass movements, and in its own name wherever possible. We have achieved a greater distribution of Party leaflets, pamphlets and books than has been the case for a long time. We have correctly emphasized the great importance and the necessity of Party organizations, clubs and Party members displaying greater initiative in taking up the issues our people face. The emphasis has been correct, and there is no question that we have made some significant progress in many areas. This has resulted in the increased influence of the Party. It has increased the membership of the Party and has also resulted in a significant increase in the readership of the *Daily World* and *People's World.* This is important progress in overcoming the tendency to lag behind the mass movements which we were at times doing as a result of past hangovers, past "rubber bands." Without any letup we must continue the emphasis along these lines.

But while greeting and applauding all the steps taken by the Party to develop struggles and to participate in them, we must take note that, as often happens when we emphasize one side in order to correct past weaknesses in Party policies, some tend to go to the other extreme. In this case it has been to counterpose independent political activities to other mass activities, to united front work with masses and organizations who do not share our general outlook and policies.

For the Party to hide its face, for Party members to work in mass organizations without paying attention or taking steps to build the Party and its press, to fail to educate workers in the basic causes, in the class nature of their problems means, in life, to rely on spontaneity. This is opportunism. It is a liquidationist tendency which jeopardizes both the Party and the united front. This is one kind of sin.

However, to seek to build the Party and not the united front, to give major attention to the struggles of the masses but to adopt an attitude that we will have relations with non-Party masses only if they recognize the Party at all costs, means to narrow the united front. It will hinder the mobilization of the masses and the possibility of our membership playing an effective role in the mass movements. That is another sin—the sin of sectarianism. It also jeopardizes both the Party and the united front. It is obvious that we need to master the skillful handling of the two-fold aspect of Communist work. We must learn to do both although in the matter of time it will not always happen at the same moment. In this sense it is important to examine each situation, each mass movement, each united front formation carefully and on that basis to determine how we are going to go about realizing both the development of the mass movement and the strengthening and building of the Party.

The carrying out of the two aspects of Communist work must be the continuous and central question on the agenda of every Party club meeting, and of every Party member. This must be the central focus of the work of state and national bodies of the Party. All other questions must be related to the implementation of these two aspects of our work.

Because of the nature of the moment we have to put new emphasis on every club giving attention to the building of intermediary organizations where none exist, building independent political coalitions on every level, especially in the precincts, wards and congressional districts. In carrying out the two aspects of our tasks we must not have a theory of stages which in most cases is opportunistic and results in never reaching the stage of building the Party. The theory of stages often hides a liquidationist attitude toward the role of the Party. As you know this is still being done and there are comrades who have been in organizations for years, even decades, and have never recruited a single member into the Party or the YWLL and have never sold a piece of Communist literature or turned in a subscription for our paper. Such people are just not living up to standards of Communist Party membership.

The building of the Party is not always a matter of direct one-to-one relationship to mass developments. There are problems because of anti-Communism and problems of security, etc. But it must be done as a continuous process in one form or another. If not straightforward, then zig-zag. If not directly, then indirectly. But in one way or another the Party and its policies must be made known to the masses. Both the Party and its policies must become a part of the mass developments.

As you know, Lenin wrote that the working class cannot achieve the revolution without its own working class political and ideological vanguard, the Communist Party. But he emphasized that the vanguard cannot be imposed on the working class. And I would like to add it cannot be imposed on united front relationships. It must be won by good leadership and hard work. It must be won by resoluteness, by good work recognized by the masses, by educational activities in the course of struggle—before, during and after struggles. Members of our Party must act in such a way that the masses recognize the Communists as a leading, reliable force. On this matter Lenin wrote:

> The Communist Party must be able to link up, maintain the closest contact, if you wish merge, in a certain measure with the broadest masses of the people, primarily with the proletariat, but also with the non-proletarian masses of the working people. (*Collected Works*, Vol. 31, pp. 24-25.)

To see a contradiction between the two aspects of our work, Party

building and mass work, indicates either political immaturity or results from the influences of opportunism which is a form of capitulation to the pressures of the enemy. Both sectarianism and liquidationism result from enemy pressures and are an accommodation to such pressures.

It is clear that the moment places a great demand on the leadership that only the Communist Party can give. In a sense we have been gearing ourselves for this moment. The Party's growth both in influence and membership, the Party's political and ideological growth, the growth of the leadership cadre, all adds up to the fact that we can meet the challenge of this unique moment in history.

We can fill the vacuum. We can and must close the gap.

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